Notes

Chapter 1—Early Contacts between Norway and Iceland

1. The beginning of chapter 1 in Ari Þorgilsson's sketch of Icelandic history reads in part as follows: "Iceland was settled first from Norway in the days of Harald Fairhair . . . and that was 870 years after the birth of Christ." There have been recent archeological attempts to show that Iceland was settled before 870. See Margrét Hermanns-Auðardóttir, *Islands tidiga bosättning* (1989) and "Arkeologiska undersökningar av handels-platsen vid Gásir" (1999); Páll Theodórsson, "Upphaf landnáms á Íslandi 670 AD" (2009); Gunnar Karlsson, "Upphaf mannaferða á Íslandi" (2011). Verena Höfig provides a full discussion of the archeological debate in her unpublished University of California (Berkeley) dissertation, "Finding a Founding Father: Memory, Identity, and the Icelandic *landnám*" (2014), 8–12.

2. The text has been published and translated a number of times and may be found in ÍF 1.1. The most recent translation with abundant annotation and discussion is in Siân Grønlie's *Íslendingabók; Kristni saga: The Book of the Icelanders; The Story of the Conversion* (2006).

3. For a brief introduction to the sagas about early Icelanders (known as "sagas of Icelanders" or "family sagas") see Margaret Clunies Ross, *The Cambridge Introduction to the Old-Norse-Icelandic Saga* (2010). A thumbnail overview of the bishops' sagas is provided by Kurt Schier, *Sagaliteratur* (1970), 67–71. On the translations from the Latin see Stefanie Würth, *Der "Antikenroman" in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (1998). On the translations from the French see Marianne Kalinke, "Norse Romance (*Riddarasögur*)" in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide* (1985; rpt. 2005), 316–63; see also Jürg Glauser, *Isländische Märchensagas: Studien zur Prosaliteratur im spätmittelalterlichen Island* (1983).

4. *Morkinskinna: The Earliest Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, trans. Theodore M. Andersson and Kari Ellen Gade (2000), and *Fagrskinna: A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway,* trans. Alison Finlay (2004). A new translation of the third compendium, *Heimskringla*, by Alison Finlay and Anthony Faulkes, is now complete: Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 3 vols. (2011–15). Individual volume titles are vol. 1: *The Beginnings to Óláfr Tryggvason*, vol. 2: *Óláfs saga helga*, and vol. 3: *Magnús Óláfsson to Magnús Erlingsson*.

5. I have surveyed some of the specialized literature in "Kings' Sagas (*Konungasögur*)," in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, ed. Carol J. Clover and John Lindow (1985; rpt. 2005), 197–238. Diana

Whaley has written a short but excellent overview in "The Kings' Sagas" in *Viking Revaluations: Viking Society Centenary Symposium 14–15 May 1992* (1993), 43–64. Shami Ghosh provides a probing update in *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History* (2011), 177–201.

6. *Landnámabók* is published in ÍF 1.1–2 and has been translated by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards in *The Book of Settlements* (1972).

7. See Jakob Benediktsson's introduction in ÍF 1.1 (p. 1). Peter Andreas Munch retraced a number of settlers to their roots in Norway in *Det norske folks historie*, pt. 1, vol. 1 (1852), 545–53.

8. See Gísli Sigurðsson, *Gaelic Influence in Iceland* (1988), 33; Ian McDougall, "Foreigners and Foreign Languages" (1987–88), 182–89.

9. For an impressively detailed survey of Icelandic contacts with the Celtic-speaking regions see Helgi Guðmundsson, *Um haf innan* (1997). The most famous Celtic speaker in Iceland is the Irish princess Melkorka in *Laxdœla saga*, who is brought to Iceland as a concubine and teaches her son Irish in secret. That serves him well later in the story, but it is clear that Irish is a rare accomplishment in Iceland. On Melkorka see Helgi Guðmundsson, *Um haf innan*, 304–15. The most notorious German-speaker in Iceland was the missionary Þangbrandr, whose story is told a number of places, including at some length in *Kristni saga,* trans. Siân Grønlie (note 2), 38–44, and *Njáls saga* (ÍF 12:256–69). Þangbrandr must have learned Norse or made use of an interpreter because he communicates directly with his Icelandic disciples and opponents.

10. See Bruce Gelsinger, *Icelandic Enterprise* (1981), 71–75; Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om austmenn: Nordmenn som sigldе til Island og Grønland i mellomalderen* (1993), 30; William Ian Miller, *Audun and the Polar Bear* (2008), 22–27. Ann Marie Long provides a detailed review of the relevant laws in the fourth chapter of her unpublished University College Dublin dissertation "The Relationship between Iceland and Norway *c.* 870-*c.* 1100: Memory, History and Identity" (2013).

11. ÍF 3:337. See *Morkinskinna*, trans. Andersson and Gade, 419, note 11.

12. ÍF 23:184 and *Morkinskinna*, trans. Andersson and Gade, 192.

13. Bogi Th. Melsteð, "Töldu Íslendingar sig . . . vera Norðmenn" (1914), 16–33; see also Helgi Guðmundsson, *Um haf innan*, 273–74.

14. See the contributions by Sverrir Jakobsson listed in the Bibliography (1999a, 1999b, 2002b, 2005a:304–68). Gunnar Karlsson detects signs of separation as early as the beginning of the twelfth century and possibly as early as the second generation of colonists (1987, 1988, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2004). In the introduction to her translation of Ari's *Íslendingabók*, Siân Grønlie finds a "consciousness of separate Icelandic identity" in the title of the book and in such phrasings as "our bishops," "our reckoning," and "our countrymen" (p. xxiv). Kirsten Hastrup, in "Defining a Society" (1984), suggested that the Icelandic "Free State" was a thirteenth-century literary creation (250–51). On the problem of national consciousness in Norway see Knut Arstad, "Ribbungsopprør" (1995), 76–77; Sverre Bagge, "Nationalism in Norway" (1995); Kåre Lunden, "Was there a national Norwegian identity?" (1995).

15. See in particular Else Mundal, "Fremveksten av den islandske identiteten" (1997).

16. On the prologues in *Heimskringla* see most recently Shami Ghosh, *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History*, 53–57.

17. See Helgi Þorláksson, "Islandske havner" (1978), 1–26; T. M. Andersson, "Sea Traffic in the Sagas" (2012), 156–75.

18. See Bogi Th. Melsteð, "Ferðir, siglingar og samgöngur milli Íslands og annara landa á dögum þjóðveldisins" (1907–1915), 836; Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om austmenn*, 39; "Hungrvaka," Bps. 1:71; "Kristni saga," ibid., 1:30–31 (trans. Grønlie, 54).

19. The passage from *Kristni saga* may be found in ÍF15.2:44 and the passage from *Hungrvaka* in Bps. 1:71 (trans. Grønlie, 54). The number of people conveyed in a ship is hard to calculate and presumably would have depended on such factors as military versus commercial use, distance to be traveled, and type of cargo carried. Finnur Jónsson, "Hinn forni kaupstaður 'at Gásum'," *Árbók hins íslenzka fornleifafélags* (1908), 4, once estimated one hundred or more men per ship, but that seems high. Sven Axel Anderson, *Viking Enterprise* (1936), 66, put the crew of the Gokstad ship at forty but thought she could carry as many as seventy. Kåre Lunden, *Norge under Sverreætten* (1976), 157, calculated a crew of 65 for the Gokstad ship. The replica of the Gokstad ship that crossed the Atlantic in 1893 operated with a crew of twelve according to the report of the captain Magnus Andersen in *Vikingefærden* (1895), 76–83, but she required 32 rowers to leave the Oslo harbor (p. 94). Perhaps the best indication of what an early thirteenth-century Icelandic writer would have thought is the information that when Kveld-Úlfr Bjálfason sailed from Norway to Iceland, he had two large *knerrir*, each carrying thirty men plus women and children (ÍF 2:66). Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om austmenn*, 60, estimated a normal crew of thirty to fifty men for a *knǫrr* (plur. *knerrir*). On the peril of famine in medieval Iceland see William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking* (1990), 16.

20. See Bogi Th. Melsteð, "Ferðir, siglingar, og samgöngur" 744; *Jóns saga helga* in Bps. 1: 221–22; *Fornmanna sögur,* vol. 7 (Copenhagen, 1832), 32.

21. *Kongesagastudier* (Copenhagen, 1977), 111.

22. *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason, and Kristján Eldjárn, 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Sturlungaútgáfan, 1946), 1:122; *Sturlunga saga*, trans. Julia H. McGrew and R. George Thomas, 2 vols. (New York: Twayne Publishers and the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1970–74), 2:100. See also *Guðmundar saga biskups* in Bps. 1:416.

23. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:269; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:162.

24. *Islandske annaler indtil 1578* ("Annales regii"), 119.

25. Bps. 1:77.

26. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:161; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:148.

27. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:205–6; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:198.

28. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:236; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:125.

29. The fullest recapitulation of this conflict may be found in Bogi Th. Melsteð, "Útanstefnur og erendisrekar útlendra þjóðhöfðingja á fyrri hluta Sturlungaaldar 1200–1239" (1899), 122–30.

30. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:312–13; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:210.
31. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:349; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:250.
32. *Sturlunga saga*, 2:183; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:436.
33. The Norwegian chieftain Grégóríús Dagsson addresses the apparently less hardened Icelander Hallr Auðunarson after the Battle of Konungahella in *Heimskringla* in the following terms (ÍF 28:349): "Many men seem to me more easygoing in battle than you Icelanders, for you are less accustomed to it than we Norwegians, but nobody seems bolder in arms than you." See Helgi Þorláksson, "Kaupmenn í þjónustu konungs," *Mímir* 13:5–12 (esp. 8 and 10–11) on the Norwegian military advantages. See also Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om austmenn*, 177 and 180. Chris Callow, "Narrative, Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence" (2004) concluded that the Icelanders did not take the Norwegians seriously as fighters, but I incline to the opposite view.
34. See *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* by Oddr Snorrason, ÍF 25:265–67; trans. Andersson, Oddr Snorrason, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason* (2003), 99–100.
35. On Norwegian warrior status see also *Flóamanna saga* (ÍF 13:322–23) and *Þórðar saga hreðu* (ÍF 14:195–97). Both passages recount match-ups between Icelanders and Norwegians, and in both cases the point seems to be that the Icelanders emerge as surprise winners.
36. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:124; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:102–3.
37. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:124–25; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:103.
38. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:126; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:104.
39. Magnus Andersen, *Vikingefærden* (1895), 186.
40. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:137–38; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:117–18.
41. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:139; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:119.
42. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:197–99; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:189–91.
43. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:212; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:206. On the Skæringr episode see Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking*, 1–12.
44. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:258; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:151.
45. E.g., *Sturlunga saga*, 1:270–71; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:163–64.
46. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:327; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:226.
47. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:393; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:297.
48. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:405; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:309.
49. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:445–46; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:350–51.
50. *Sturlunga saga*, 2:75; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:310.
51. *Sturlunga saga*, 2:93; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:331.

Chapter 2—Early Epitomes and Biographies

1. The speculations on these lost texts reach back into the eighteenth century and are complex. The history of the question was clearly and succinctly summarized by Eva Hagnell in her *Are frode och hans författarskap* (1938). She made a case for believing that, based on what Ari says in his *Libellus*, there was an earlier version of that book including kings' lives (*konunga ævi*) and genealogies but that the kings' lives were for the most part a brief epitome, not a full-scale history. She did allow for somewhat fuller notes on

important matters (p. 136). A short time later Einar Arnórsson published a treatise, *Ari fróði* (1942), in which he argued that in addition to the "first edition" and "second edition" of the *Libellus* Ari authored a separate book on the kings' lives (pp. 27–62). Two years after that Björn Sigfússon returned to the subject and reviewed the options again briefly in *Um Íslendingabók* (pp. 10–37). More recently Svend Ellehøj, *Studier over den ældste norrøne historieskrivning* (1965), provided a detailed analysis of the thorny issues, emphasizing Ari's centrality in the evolution of the kings' sagas. Gudrun Lange, *Die Anfänge der isländisch-norwegischen Geschichtsschreibung* (1989), updated the question once again and attributed an important role to both Ari and Sæmundr. Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (1953; rpt. 1967), 70–108, provided an overview in English, and I added a short synopsis in "The Kings' Sagas (*Konungasögur*)" (1985; rpt. 2005), 197–211, with a discussion of Svend Ellehøj's views.

2. This is true of Ellehøj (1965) *passim* and more explicitly Lange (1989), esp. 10, 114–20, 171, 178–81.

3. This crucial passage reads as follows (ÍF 1.1:3): "Íslendingabók gørða ek fyrst byskupum órum, Þorláki ok Katli, ok sýndak bæði þeim ok Sæmundi presti. En með því at þeim líkaði svá at hafa eða þar viðr auka, þá skrifaða ek þessa of et sama far, fyr útan áttartǫlu ok konunga ævi, ok jókk því es mér varð síðan kunnara ok nú es gerr sagt á þessi en á þeiri." This might be translated as follows: "I made the Book of the Icelanders first for our bishops Þorlákr and Ketill, and I showed it both to them and to Sæmundr the priest. And because they liked it as it was or with some additions, I wrote this [book] in the same way while omitting the genealogies and kings' lives, and I added what I got to know better and now the telling is fuller in this book than in the other." "While omitting" is the most common understanding of Ari's words "fyr útan," but the words could also mean "separate from" or simply "without." In this case the "kings' lives" and "genealogies" could have been separate compositions and not part of an earlier edition of the *Libellus*. Accordingly Else Mundal, "Íslendingabók, ættar tala og konunga ævi" (1984), makes an attractive argument for believing that there was no "first edition" and that the three texts in question were simply assembled in a composite manuscript.

4. The references to Ari elsewhere in Icelandic literature are gathered and discussed by Eva Hagnell, *Are frode*, 113–65.

5. These transcripts are reproduced photographically in *Íslendingabók Ara fróða* (1956).

6. My translation, but see also Siân Grønlie, trans., *Íslendingabók; Kristni saga*, 7.

7. Ibid., 8.

8. On this period see Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, and Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland* (2000).

9. One example is the Icelandic chieftain Víga-Glúmr who, in his youth, visits his maternal grandfather in Norway (Voss). He gets a cool reception as long as his identity is uncertain, but once he has proved himself, he is duly celebrated (ÍF 9:17–19). Another example, this time from the kings' sagas, is the Icelander Steinn Skaptason, who has stood godfather to a child of the

distinguished woman Ragnhildr Erlingsdóttir. She not only receives him warmly, but also protects him against the wrath of King Óláfr Haraldsson. ÍF 27:243–49; trans. Lee M. Hollander in *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway by Snorri Sturluson* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 414–19; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:162–66.

10. See the references in chapter 1, note 14, above.

11. Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland*, 144–60.

12. Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, 78.

13. Both histories are readily available. The *Historia de Antiquitate* is printed in MHN, 3–68, and was translated by David and Ian McDougall with abundant commentary in the volume Theodoricus monachus, *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium; An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings* (1998). The *Historia Norwegiae* appeared in a bilingual Latin-English version edited by Inger Ekrem and Lars Boje Mortensen and translated by Peter Fisher (2003).

14. See the translation in the previous note, pp. 1 and 5.

15. I survey some of the debate in "The Two Ages in *Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sǫgum*" (2011). Many scholars view the kings' sagas as distinctively Icelandic. On the other hand, Halvdan Koht once posited a whole Norwegian literary culture under King Sverrir, including Theodoricus, *Sverris saga*, *Ágrip*, and the "Speech against the Bishops." See his "Norsk historieskrivning under kong Sverre" (1921; first publ. in 1914), esp. 181.

16. See especially the references to Gudrun Lange in note 2 above.

17. I argue this point in "The Two Ages in *Ágrip*."

18. The early silence about King Haraldr's unification has been taken to suggest that there was no such unification. See Sverrir Jakobsson, "Erindringen om en mægtig personlighed" (2002) and Shami Ghosh, *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History*, 42–45 and 66–70. Such skepticism is possible, but it seems unlikely that everything that was added into the later compendia was without traditional foundation.

19. On Gunnhildr see the articles by Sigurður Nordal, "Gunnhildur konungamóðir" (1941), trans. into Norwegian as "Gunnhild kongemor" (1965), and Anne Heinrichs, "Gunnhild konungamóðir" (1996).

20. My translation, but see also the edition and translation by Matthew J. Driscoll, *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasǫgum* (1995, rpt. 2008), 24–25.

21. *Historia Norwegie* (2003), 50.

22. Ibid., 211–17.

23. On the possible meaning of this word see Bjarni Guðnason, *Fyrsta sagan* (1978), 68–72.

24. Ibid., 12–32.

25. ÍF 24:173–75; trans. Andersson and Gade, 369–70.

26. The text is printed in ÍF 25:125–362; trans. Andersson, Oddr Snorrason, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*.

27. I make the case for believing this in my translation, pp. 7–14.

28. The tale of Þangbrandr is told at some length in *Kristni saga* and *Njáls saga*. See Siân Grønlie, trans., *Íslendingabók; Kristni saga*, 38–44, and ÍF 12:256–69.

29. ÍF 25:285–86; trans. Andersson, 106–7.

30. I weigh the alternatives in "The First Icelandic King's Saga" (2004), revised in *The Partisan Muse in the Early Icelandic Sagas* (2012), 45–82.

31. On the bishops' sagas see Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, 196–212; and Ásdís Egilsdóttir, "Biskupa Sögur," in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (1993), 45–46.

32. A new translation of *Heimskringla* is now available. See chapter 1, note 4 and the Bibliography.

33. The most convenient edition is the moderately normalized text with a German translation by Anne Heinrichs et al., *Olafs saga hins Helga: Die "Legendarische Saga" über Olaf den Heiligen* (1982).

34. Ibid., 120.

35. The term "Legendary Saga" goes back to Peter Andreas Munch. See the "Einleitung" to *Olafs saga hins helga*, 14.

36. See note 30 above.

37. *Valla-Ljóts saga* is edited in ÍF 9:233–60 and translated by Theodore M. Andersson and William Ian Miller in *Law and Literature in Medieval Iceland* (1989), 256–85.

38. ÍF 9:260; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 285.

39. ÍF 9:255; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 278.

40. ÍF 9:256; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 280.

41. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Impostor* (1956), 2.

42. The fragments and Danish translation of *Bǫglunga sǫgur* have been edited by Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om Birkebeinar og Baglar* (1988), 2 vols., and in ÍF 31:3–162.

43. See for example Sverre Bagge, "Borgerkrig og statsutvikling i Norge i middelalderen" (1986) and Birgit Sawyer, "The 'Civil Wars' Revisited" (2003).

44. ÍF 24:185; trans. Andersson and Gade, 375.

45. Bjarni Guðnason, *Fyrsta sagan*, 126.

46. ÍF 24:193; trans. Andersson and Gade, 379.

47. ÍF 24:205; trans. Andersson and Gade, 385.

48. ÍF 28:284–85; trans. Hollander, 719–21.

49. ÍF 28:302; trans. Hollander, 734.

50. See ÍF 28:229 and 279; ÍF 24:303; ÍF 28:321.

51. ÍF 28:310; trans. Hollander, 741.

52. ÍF 24:208; trans. Andersson and Gade, 386.

53. ÍF 28:322; trans. Hollander, 750. Knut Liestøl discussed the peculiarities of authorial omniscience in the sagas in *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Saga* (1930), 86–100.

54. ÍF 28:318–19; trans. Hollander, 748.

55. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:116; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 2:93.

56. ÍF 28:350–60; trans. Hollander, 770–80.

57. ÍF 28:368; trans. Hollander, 785.

58. ÍF 28:364; trans. Hollander, 781.

59. For these stanzas see *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, vol. 2, pt. 2, ed. Kari Ellen Gade (2009), 565–67.

60. On Einarr see *Sturlunga saga*, 1:88; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:86.

61. I refer to these aspirations in *The Partisan Muse*, 144–47.

Chapter 3—The Character of Kings: *Morkinskinna and Fagrskinna*

1. The coverage of *Morkinskinna* and *Heimskringla* (as well as *Fagrskinna*) is summarized and compared in *Morkinskinna: The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle,* trans. Andersson and Gade, 497–511.

2. Ármann Jakobsson, *Staður í nýjum heimi* (2002), chapter 2 ("Uppruni"), summarized on 53–54. See also 82, 87, 102, 181. On the *þættir* in general see Elizabeth Ashman Rowe and Joseph Harris, "Short Prose Narrative," in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (2005), 462–78.

3. For "Auðunar þáttr" see ÍF 23:217–32 (trans. Andersson and Gade, 211–15), and for "Brands þáttr ǫrva" see ÍF 23:230–32 (trans. Andersson and Gade, 219–20). See also Ármann Jakobsson, *Staður í nýjum heimi*, 80–81, and *A Sense of Belonging* (2014), 334–5. The best and fullest analysis of the classic "Auðunar þáttr" is given by Miller in *Audun and the Polar Bear.*

4. On Brandr as king of Iceland see Hermann Pálsson, "Brands þáttr ǫrva," *Gripla* 7 (1990), 117–30. In general see Vésteinn Ólason's illuminating discussion of the sometimes paradoxical relationship between the free Icelanders and Norwegian royalty in "Den frie mannens selvforståelse i islandske sagaer og dikt" (1989).

5. The episode is found in ÍF 23:235–37; trans. Andersson and Gade, 222–23.

6. ÍF 23:237–39; trans. Andersson and Gade, 223–25. See Ármann Jakobsson, *A Sense of Belonging*, 296–97.

7. A short Latin epitome is translated in *Morkinskinna: The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle,* trans. Andersson and Gade, 512–15. The Icelandic retelling of the tale in *Morkinskinna* is found in ÍF 23:242–69; trans. Andersson and Gade, 225–43. The most recent study is Sverre Bagge, "Hákonar saga Ívarssonar—en kompilasjon fra senmiddelalderen," *Maal og minne* (2014), 2:1–17.

8. ÍF 23:270–84; trans. Andersson and Gade, 243–52. See Ármann Jakobsson, *Staður í nýjum heimi*, 98, and *A Sense of Belonging*, 291.

9. On the magic interlude see Bo Almqvist, *Norrön niddiktning*, vol. 1, *Nid mot furstar* (1965), 186–205.

10. Examples of this commonplace were assembled by Bogi Th. Melsteð, "Tøldu Íslendingar sig . . . vera Norðmenn," 30.

11. ÍF 23:290–93; trans. Andersson and Gade, 255–57.

12. ÍF 23:293–99; trans. Andersson and Gade, 257–61.

13. ÍF 23:205; trans. Andersson and Gade, 204.

14. Most of the "þættir" are in the saga of Haraldr harðráði.

15. See Adam's *Gesta*, 159 and 267; trans. Francis J. Tschan, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (1959), 124.

16. I discuss these stories in *The Partisan Muse*, 97–109.

17. ÍF 24:29–38; trans. Andersson and Gade, 291–97.

18. ÍF 27:148–56; trans. Hollander, 343–49; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:95–102.

19. See Skúli Björn Gunnarsson, "Hið íslenska hirðfífl" (1996), 55–63, and Björn Gíslason "Klám og gróteska í Sneglu-Halla þætti" (1999), 33–42. See also Ármann Jakobsson, "Munnur skáldsins" (2005) and *Staður í nýjum heimi*, 241.

20. On this "spine-tingling" moment see Miller, *Audun and the Polar Bear*, 64–65.

21. See Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking*, 72.

22. ÍF 24:116–17; trans. Andersson and Gade, 336.

23. ÍF 12:411–12. In this stunning passage Hallr af Síðu runs counter to all cultural expectations by renouncing vengeance in the interest of a peaceful settlement.

24. ÍF 24:38; trans. Andersson and Gade, 297.

25. ÍF 24:59–60; trans. Andersson and Gade, 307.

26. ÍF 24:99; trans. Andersson and Gade, 325.

27. ÍF 24:131–34; trans. Andersson and Gade, 345–47.

28. Birgit Sawyer has also emphasized the role of advice in *Heimskringla* in *Heimskringla: An Interpretation*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 483 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS [Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies], 2015).

29. The tale is told in ÍF 23:178–87; trans. Andersson and Gade, 187–94.

30. ÍF 23:162–63; trans. Andersson and Gade, 177–78.

31. The treatise is known as *Konungs skuggsjá* and was edited by Ludvig Holm-Olsen (1945; 1983) and translated by Laurence Marcellus Larson as *The King's Mirror* (1917). A propos of Brandr Vermundarson, Ármann Jakobsson, *Staður í nýjum heimi*, 148, has noted "Skapstilling jafngildir ekki skapleysi" (Self-restraint is not the same as cowardice). William Miller concludes his monograph on Auðunn by contrasting the volubility prompted by Melville's white whale and the laconism occasioned by Auðunn's white bear (p. 146).

32. Gustav Indrebø, *Fagrskinna* (1917).

33. Ibid., 278–82. Ármann Jakobsson opposed this view in *Í leit að konungi* (1997), 35.

34. On the Icelandic character of *Morkinskinna* see Ármann Jakobsson, *Í leit að konungi*, 272–78.

35. ÍF 29:261; trans. Finlay (2004), 208.

36. It should be noted that Else Mundal has very recently rejected the traditional location of *Fagrskinna* in Trondheim and has advanced arguments for its being written in Bergen. See her "Sagaskrivarane og Bergen" (2013).

37. Indrebø, *Fagrskinna*, 127.

38. Ibid., 132–33.

39. Ibid., 137–38.

40. Ibid., 148.

41. Ibid., 158.

42. ÍF 29:145; trans. Finlay (2004), 115.

43. Indrebø, *Fagrskinna*, 172.

44. Ibid., 174.

45. Ibid., 175.

46. Ibid., 187.

47. Ibid., 200.

48. See Saxo Grammaticus, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum* (1931), 5, or Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum; Danmarkshistorien* (2005), 1:74–76. The passage might be translated as follows: "Nor should the diligence of the

Icelanders be passed over in silence. For, lacking the resources of luxurious living because of the poverty of the soil, they cultivate the obligations of steadfast frugality and are in the habit of devoting every moment of life to the study of the works of others, and they counterbalance their lack of resources with mental exertion. Indeed, in place of pleasure they are given to bringing together the deeds of all nations, and they consign them to memory, judging that there is no less glory in examining the deeds of others than in displaying their own. By carefully consulting their treasures imbedded in the sure record of historical matters, I have put together no little part of the present work relying on their accounts, and I have not disdained to consider those persons as guides whom I have found to be so experienced in ancient matters."

49. It should be noted here that Sigurjón Páll Ísaksson has recently taken a revolutionary view of the relationship of the three compendia to one another. He suggests that all three were written by Snorri Sturluson, one after the other. The sequence would have been that Snorri traveled to Norway in 1219 with an unfinished version of *Morkinskinna*, which he showed to King Hákon and Jarl Skúli. They asked him to provide a version without the stories that tended to cast a shadow on the Norwegian kings. He accommodated their wishes and quickly produced *Fagrskinna*, but he completed *Morkinskinna* for an Icelandic readership when he returned to Iceland the following year. At the same time he felt dissatisfied with *Fagrskinna* and went to work on a third version (*Heimskringla*) between 1220 and 1230. The differences in the three versions would have been partly a matter of these political considerations and partly a matter of Snorri's evolution as a writer. See the paper "Höfundur Morkinskinnu og Fagrskinnu," *Gripla* 23 (2012): 235–85. Some readers will feel that the books are too different to be by the same author, but that is inevitably a subjective response.

50. Indrebø, *Fagrskinna,* 260.

51. See Sverrir Tómasson, "Hvenær var Tristrams sögu snúið?" (1977), 56–57. On King Hákon's education see Kevin Wanner, *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda* (2008), 81–87.

52. See *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (ÍF 31:266–67 and ÍF 32:49).

53. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:271 and 277; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:165 and 171.

54. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:277; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:171.

55. *Hákonar saga* (ÍF 31:229); *Sturlunga saga*, 1:277–78; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:171.

56. Indrebø, *Fagrskinna* (1917), 285–97.

57. I emphasize this orientation in *The Partisan Muse*, chapter 4 (pp. 83–117).

58. Ibid., chapter 5 (pp. 119–41).

Chapter 4—An Imperiled World: *Heimskringla*

1. On the title *Heimskringla* see Jon Gunnar Jørgensen, *The Lost Vellum Kringla* (2007), 18. *Heimskringla* has routinely been attached to the name of Snorri Sturluson, but enough questions have been raised that I will refrain from that practice. Jon Gunnar Jørgensen (*The Lost Vellum*, 2) writes that ". . . there is widespread agreement that the author is Snorri Sturluson,

although it cannot be said that this has been proven." A good review of the reasons that might lead us to believe that he is the author is provided by Diana Whaley, *Heimskringla* (1991), 13–19. Although *Heimskringla* may be no more than one redaction, I will treat parts 1 and 2 as a single book on the assumption that in this redaction part 2 has been adjusted to mesh with part 1 (see note 46 below). I will continue to refer to Lee M. Hollander's translation from 1964 although the three volumes of the new translation by Alison Finlay and Anthony Faulkes have appeared. The page references to the new translation have been added at the last moment, with special gratitude to the translators for giving me access to their work in advance.

2. Andreas Heusler explored the background of the excursion into Eastern origins in his deeply and broadly researched monograph from 1908 (rpt. In his *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, from1943 and 1969) under the title of *Die gelehrte Urgeschichte im isländischen Schrifttum*. On the most immediate sources and analogues see 1969:89–90. On "Greater Sweden" and "Cold Sweden" see pp. 113–15. For a summary see pp. 145–46. On "Greater Sweden" see also Tatjana Jackson, "'Scithia er uær köllum miklu Suiþiod': Memory, Fiction, or Something Else?"—in *The 15th International Saga Conference: Sagas and the Use of the Past: Preprints*, ed. A. Mathias Valentin Nordvig and Lisbeth H. Torfing (Aarhus: Aarhus University, 5th–11th August, 2012), 168–69.

3. See Heusler, *Die gelehrte Urgeschichte*, 120. See also Anthony Faulkes, "Descent from the Gods" (1978/79), especially 110–24, Rudolf Simek, "Der lange Weg von Troja nach Grönland" (2002), 315–27, and the literature cited by Shami Ghosh, *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History*, 197 (note 63).

4. As Finlay and Faulkes note in *Heimskringla*, 1:7n11, the inconstancy of Odin's wife seems to be taken over from the Eddic poem "Lokasenna," stanza 26.

5. ÍF 26:4; trans. Hollander, 3; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:7. On the relationship of the poem and the prose text see Ghosh, *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History*, 25–32.

6. This attitude is documented as early as Sighvatr Þórðarson's "Austrfararvísur." See R. D. Fulk's edition in *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ed. Diana Whaley (2009), 578–614 (especially stanzas 4, 5, and 8).

7. On the intransigence of the two claimants in 1180 see Fredrik Paasche, *Kong Sverre* (1948), 72.

8. On the possible influence of *Sverris saga* on *Heimskringla* see Hallvard Lie, *Studier i Heimskringlas stil* (1937), 89, 106–19. Siegfried Beyschlag, "Die Reichseinigungen der beiden Olafe" (1986) argued that the conquest sequence of both Óláfr Tryggvason and Óláfr Haraldsson could have been influenced in part by the route followed by King Sverrir.

9. ÍF 26:118 and 122; trans. Hollander, 76, 78; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:68, 71.

10. ÍF 26:163; trans. Hollander, 104; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:96.

11. ÍF 26:149; trans. Hollander, 95; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:87.

12. See chapter 2 above, note 19.

13. ÍF 26:171; trans. Hollander, 110; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:101.

On the details of the sacrificial rituals see Klaus Düwel, *Das Opferfest von Lade* (1985).

14. ÍF 26:192–93; trans. Hollander, 124; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:115.

15. See chapter 2 above, note 28.

16. ÍF 27:38; trans. Hollander, 266; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:23.

17. See *Ágrip*, ed. and trans. Driscoll, 45.

18. On the debate see Hallvard Lie, *Studier i Heimskringlas stil* (1937), 95, 102–3; Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics* (1991), 70–71; Ármann Jakobsson, *Í leit að konungi*, 285; Carl Phelpstead, *Holy Vikings* (2007), 131–32.

19. ÍF 27:47–48; trans. Hollander, 271–73; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:28–29.

20. ÍF 27:98; trans. Hollander, 307; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:62.

21. ÍF 27:111–17, 129–57; trans. Hollander, 316–22, 331–50; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:70–75, 83–102.

22. ÍF 27:105; trans. Hollander, 313; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:67.

23. ÍF 27:183–90; trans. Hollander, 369–74; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:120–24.

24. ÍF 27:191–93; trans. Hollander, 375–77; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:126–27.

25. ÍF 27:194–206; trans. Hollander, 377–87; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:127–37.

26. ÍF 27:211–13; trans. Hollander, 391–95; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:140–42.

27. ÍF 27:214–17; trans. Hollander, 393–95; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:142–44.

28. ÍF 27:222; trans. Hollander, 399; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:148.

29. ÍF 27:228; trans. Hollander, 403; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:151.

30. ÍF 27:243–49; trans. Hollander, 414–19; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:162–66.

31. ÍF 27:255–61; trans. Hollander, 424–28; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:171–75

32. ÍF 27:328–30; trans. Hollander, 474–76; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:220–22.

33. On this question see Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics*, 66, 159, 182–91, and "One God and One King" (2012), 42–45. See also Carl Phelpstead, *Holy Vikings* (2007), 140–49.

34. ÍF 27:47–48; trans. Hollander, 272; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:29.

35. ÍF 27:193; trans. Hollander, 377; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:127.

36. ÍF 27:222; trans. Hollander, 399; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 2:148.

37. "Political Subtexts in *Morkinskinna*, *Heimskringla* III, and *Egils saga*" in *The Partisan Muse*, 119–41.

38. Sverrir Jakobsson, in "Erindringen om en mægtig personlighed," takes the view that the account of Haraldr hárfagri that we have in *Heimskringla* is largely mythical, not dissimilar from the great mythical kings Arthur, Charlemagne, and Theodoric. See also Ármann Jakobsson, *Í leit að konungi*, 86. When this study was complete, I discovered that Sverre

Bagge had identified the unification of Norway as an underlying theme in *Heimskringla*. See his "One God and One King," especially his conclusion on pp. 42–45.

39. ÍF 26:6; trans. Hollander, 4; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:4.

40. See Sverrir Tómasson, "Tækileg vitni" (1975); Else Mundal, "Íslendingabók, ættar tala og konunga ævi" (1984); Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics* (1991), 15.

41. ÍF 26:5–6; trans. Hollander, 4; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:4.

42. ÍF 1.1:4; trans. Siân Grønlie, *Íslendingabók; Kristni saga*, 3.

43. See the note in chapter 1 above (note 14). See also Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics*, 109, 122.

44. See Siân Grønlie, *Íslendingabók; Kristni saga*, xxiv.

45. See Sverrir Tómasson, *Formálar* (1988), 290: "It seems likely that the *konunga ævi* formed the framework that Snorri filled out. He used Ari's work as a sort of compilation of facts which he picked over for his book, combined with other sources, and interpreted at the same time."

46. It will be apparent that I have treated *Heimskringla* I and II as a continuous narrative, but there are problems inherent in this view. Ever since the outset of Sigurður Nordal's career (*Om Olaf den Helliges saga* [1914], 202–3) it has been understood that the *Separate Saga of King Olaf* was written first and then revised as a centerpiece for *Heimskringla*, parts I and III of which were written later. More recently it has been argued especially by Jonna Louis-Jensen (most recently in "Dating the Archetype" [2013], 140), but also by Jo Rune Ugulen, *AM 39 fol., Óláfs saga helga og Heimskringla* (2002), especially 39–45, and Patricia Pires Boulhosa, *Icelanders and the Kings of Norway* (2005), 6–21, that there is no proof that *Heimskringla* II was written by Snorri, though parts I and III probably were. There is therefore no compelling reason to assume a conceptual continuity from part I to part II. It is nonetheless the contention of this chapter that parts I and II are indeed thematically similar. The ambivalent views of Óláfr Tryggvason in part I and of Óláfr Haraldsson in part II are quite analogous. For a brief overview of the problems see Jo Rune Ugulen, "Eit oversyn over den mellomalderlege litteraturen om Olav den heilage" (2003).

Chapter 5—In Quest of a Leader: *Sverris saga*

1. Shami Ghosh, *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History*, 189, opposes this view, arguing that the author of *Heimskringla* III recapitulates other written sources and could have recapitulated *Sverris saga* as well. Ghosh suggests that the author's focus was simply on the past, not the present.

2. *Sverris saga* was edited by Þorleifur Hauksson for the ÍF series in 2007. There is an old translation into English by J. Sephton, *Sverrissaga: The Saga of King Sverri of Norway* (1899). For a more modern translation see Torfi H. Tulinius's French version, *La saga de Sverrir, roi de Norvège* (2010).

3. For the possible influence of *Sverris saga* on *Heimskringla* see chapter 4, note 8, above and Shami Ghosh, *Kings' Sagas and Norwegian History*, 143.

4. See G. H. Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Impostor*, 121, 125; Andreas Holmsen, *Norges historie* (1961), 231; Sverre Bagge, *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed* (1996), 47.

5. See ÍF 30:101–10; trans. Sephton, 83–89; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 148–56.

6. See ÍF 30:125–54; trans. Sephton, 102–26; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 173–87.

7. On the question of Sverrir's paternity see Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Impostor*, 78–93; Magnús Stefánsson, "Kong Sverre—prest og sønn av Sigurd Munn?" (1984); Claus Krag, *Sverre—Norges største middelalderkonge* (2005), 90–98. On the final comparison to his father see Ármann Jakobsson, "Sinn eiginn smiður" (2005), 131–32.

8. See Þorleifur Hauksson in ÍF 30:lvii.

9. Among those who believed that Karl Jónsson authored the whole saga were Finnur Jónsson, "Sverrissaga" (1920), 128; Egil Nygaard Brekke, *Sverre-sagaens opphav* (1958), 108; Lárus H. Blöndal, *Um uppruna Sverrissögu* (1982), 75. Sverre Bagge, *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed*, found no "conclusive evidence for Karl Jónsson's authorship of the second part of the saga" (p. 17), but he also found no evidence of multiple authorship and preferred to assume "unity of composition" (p. 19).

10. Egil Nygaard Brekke, *Sverre-sagaens opphav* (1958), believed that *Sverris saga* was a pro-Birkibeinn text reflecting the struggle between Birkibeinar and Baglar in the period 1204 to 1208, which would therefore be the logical time for the completion of the book (p. 52). On the other hand Halvdan Koht, in "Norsk historieskrivning under kong Sverre," 181–82, with reference to a lost lecture by Gustav Storm, dated the completion of the work between 1214 and 1230. Elisabeth Bjørsvik, "Ideologi og tendens i Baglarsagaen" (1994), again reviewed the criteria and settled on a date between 1214 and 1217 (pp. 117–18). Sverre Bagge, *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed*, 17, opts for a date "between 1214, or perhaps 1217, and some time before 1223."

11. Finnur Jónsson, "Sverrissaga," 114–15; see also Claus Krag, *Sverre—Norges største middelalderkonge*, 262n17.

12. Ibid., 113.

13. Ludvig Holm-Olsen, *Studier i Sverres Saga* (1952), 57–71. See also his "Til diskusjonen om Sverres sagas tilblivelse" (1977), 55–67.

14. Egil Nygaard Brekke, *Sverre-sagaens opphav* (1958), 2.

15. See note 10 above.

16. Egil Nygaard Brekke, *Sverre-sagaens opphav* (1958), 65, 82.

17. Ibid., 161–78.

18. Ibid., 176–78.

19. (Norsk) *Historisk tidsskrift*, 40(1960), 25–91.

20. Lárus H. Blöndal, *Um uppruna Sverrissögu* (1982), 124–57.

21. ÍF 30:67; trans. Sephton, 54; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 111.

22. ÍF 24:179; trans. Andersson and Gade, 372.

23. Edvard Bull, "Borgerkrigene i Norge og Haakon Haakonssons kongstanke" (1917).

24. Halvdan Koht, "Kampen om makten i Noreg i sagatiden" (1921;

originally published in 1918), 111–15. See also Hans Jacob Orning, *Unpredictability and Presence* (2008), 259.

25. Andersson, *The Partisan Muse*, 65–82.

26. See ÍF 23:31; trans. Andersson and Gade, 104. ÍF 29:212; trans. Finlay, 171.

27. ÍF 26:172–73; trans. Hollander, 112; trans. Finlay and Faulkes, 1:102.

28. ÍF 23:325; trans. Andersson and Gade, 275.

29. ÍF 24:16–18; trans. Andersson and Gade, 285–86.

30. ÍF 28:213; trans. Hollander, 670.

31. The term comes from G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Impostor*, 246.

32. The Icelandic lawspeaker Þorgeirr, in his effort to reconcile Christians and pagans at the *alþingi* in Ari's *Íslendingabók,* notes the power of the people to force peace on their kings (trans. Grønlie, p. 9): "He spoke about how the kings of Norway and Denmark had kept up warfare and battles against each other for a long time, until the people of those countries had made peace between them, even though they did not wish it." See also the peace treaty concluded by King Magnús berfœttr of Norway, King Eiríkr of Denmark, and King Ingi of Sweden in the year 1100 (*Morkinskinna*, ÍF 24:59–60; trans. Andersson and Gade, 307): "Then messengers went back and forth among the kings to persuade them to make peace among themselves and their countries." The writer reports with an air of delight: "And now the kings proceed to talk alone, and they had not been talking for longer than a mealtime before they were reconciled and their realms at peace."

33. See for example Sverre Bagge, "Borgerkrig og statsutvikling i Norge i middelalderen" (1986) and Birgit Sawyer, "The 'Civil Wars' Revisited."

34. Finnur Jónsson, "Sverrissaga," 113–15; Þorleifur Hauksson, "Grýla Karls ábóta," (2006), 153–66, and "Implicit Ideology and the King's Image in *Sverris saga*" (2012), 127–35.

35. ÍF 30:141–42; trans. Sephton, 114–15; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 188–90.

36. See G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *A Royal Impostor*, 204–6; Claus Krag, *Sverre—Norges største middelalderkonge*, 219.

37. ÍF 30:150–54; trans. Sephton, 120–25; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 197–202.

38. ÍF 30:154–55; trans. Sephton, 126; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 202–3. On the air of finality see Halvdan Koht, "Norsk historieskrivning under kong Sverre," 183.

39. ÍF 30:157–61; trans. Sephton, 128–31; trans. Torfi H. Tulinius, 205–9.

40. See note 4 above.

41. The texts were edited by Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om Birkebeinar og Baglar*, and in ÍF 31:3–167.

42. Knut Helle, *Omkring Bǫglungasǫgur* (1958), e.g., 106; Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om Birkebeinar og Baglar*, 1:51–57.

43. Elisabeth Bjørsvik, "Ideologi og tendens," 113, 119; ÍF 31:xix–xxiii.

44. Ibid., 117, 119–20.

45. Ibid., 12, 32–38.

46. Knut Helle, *Omkring Bǫglungasǫgur*, 6–7; Elisabeth Bjørsvik, "Ideologi og tendens," 98–100.

47. Elisabeth Bjørsvik, ibid., 117.

48. Elisabeth Bjørsvik estimates ca. 1220 (ibid., 120).

49. On the relationship of the longer version of *Bǫglunga sǫgur* to *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* see Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om Birkebeinar og Baglar*, 1:53–55.

50. See ÍF 31:176; trans. G. W. Dasent in *The Saga of Hacon and a Fragment of the Saga of Magnus* (1894), 5.

51. ÍF 31:211–12; trans. G. W. Dasent, 37.

52. ÍF 31:249; trans. G. W. Dasent, 71.

53. ÍF 31:296; trans. G. W. Dasent, 113.

54. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:430–39 and 484–94; trans. McGrew/Thomas, 1:335–44 and 393–403.

55. On this development see Sverre Bagge, *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom* (2010), 229–92.

56. See Gísli Sigurðsson, *Túlkun Íslendingasagna* (2002), and Tommy Danielsson, *Hrafnkels saga eller Fallet med den undflyende traditionen* (2002).

57. ÍF 9:1–98; trans. John McKinnell, *Viga-Glums Saga with the Tales of Ogmund Bash and Thorvald Chatterbox* (1987).

58. ÍF 10:lxxxviii.

59. I argue this in *The Partisan Muse*, 148–66.

60. ÍF 10:3–147; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 121–255. It should be noted that the texts in the edition and the translation diverge because the editor of ÍF 10 (Björn Sigfússon) preferred the so-called *A* redaction whereas the translators preferred the so-called *C* redaction. On the dating of the saga see pp. 74–84.

61. ÍF 10:109–13; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 135–38.

62. ÍF 10:117–21; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 139–44.

63. "Vǫðu-Brands þáttr" in ÍF 10:125–39; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 144–52.

64. ÍF 10:138; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 161.

65. ÍF 10:16; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 162–63.

66. ÍF 10:112; trans. Andersson and Miller, *Law and Literature*, 138.

Chapter 6—A Historical Mirage: *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*

1. *Sturlunga saga*, 1:115.

2. See Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, "Sturla Þórðarson," in *Sturlustefna* (1988), 11–12.

3. Ibid., 27–30.

4. See Jón Jóhannesson's introduction to *Sturlunga saga* (as in note 1), 2:xxxviii and ÍF 32:xxxi.

5. The hostility between King Hákon and Sturla has sometimes been

explained by the view that Sturla was an advocate of Icelandic independence, but Helgi Þorláksson does not believe that this is the case and finds a different explanation. See his paper "Var Sturla Þórðarson þjóðfrelsishetja?" in *Sturlustefna*, 127–46.

6. See Finnur Jónsson, *OOLH*, II, 735; ÍF 31:xxxiii; ÍF 32:xxxvi.

7. On this subject see Ólafía Einarsdóttir's important paper "Om samtidssagaens kildeværdi belyst ved *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar,*" (1995), 29–80. In her paper "Sverrir—præst og konge" (1981), 68, she refers to *Sverris saga* as a "bestillingsværk."

8. See his paper "Sannyrði sverða: Vígaferli í Íslendinga sögu og hugmyndafræði sögunnar" (1994), 42–78.

9. Sverre Bagge, *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed*, 99.

10. Ibid., 115.

11. ÍF 31:242–43, 283, 287; ÍF 32:5, 63, 69, 81, 106, 107–8, 258. On *grið* in general see Guðrún Nordal, *Ethics and Actions in Thirteenth-Century Iceland* (1998), 183–98.

12. Ármann Jakobsson, "Hákon Hákonarson: friðarkonungur eða fúlmenni" (1995), 176, concludes that Snorri was killed against the king's wishes. That may well be true, but it does not alter the fact that Hákon ordered that Snorri be returned to Norway on pain of execution.

13. See the editors of ÍF 31:lxvi–lxvii, who are inclined to make the Icelandic chieftains more responsible for the annexation of Iceland than the Norwegian king.

14. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Drög um íslenzka menningu á þrettándu öld* (1940), 76–77, or *The Age of the Sturlungs* (1953), 72. Guðrún Nordal, *Ethics and Actions* (1998), 199, calculated the killing rate at seven per year between 1208 and 1260.

15. *Sturlunga saga* (as in note 1): 1:244, 246, 249, 253, 264–65, 271, 274–77, 287–88, 296, 297–98, 301–2, 316, 324, 356–57, 361–62, 364–65, 365–67, 368–70, 380, 381, 383–84, 392–94, 417–18, 421, 436, 437, 438, 440. 442, 443, 449, 454, 455, 457, and 475.

16. Sturla's poems have been most recently edited by Kari Ellen Gade et. al. in *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 675–757. See also Hermann Pálsson, "Kveðskapur Sturlu Þórðarsonar," in *Sturlustefna*, 61–85.

17. See Tor Ulset, "Sturla Þórðarson og Sverris saga," in *Sturlustefna*, 86–93.

18. Gustav Indrebø, *Fagrskinna* (1917), 200.

19. See ÍF 32:261 and Bjarni Einarsson's comment in ÍF 29:cxxiv–cxxv.

20. See Ármann Jakobsson's article (note 12 above), 167–85, and ÍF 31:lviii and lxv.

21. Ármann Jakobsson (as in note 12), 173–74.

22. Ibid., 175–76.

23. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (1917; rpt. 1977), 159 and 267; trans. Francis J. Tschan, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (1959), 124.

24. *Íslendinga saga (Sturlunga saga*, 1:277) states outright that because of these hostilities "the Norwegians were big enemies of the Icelanders, especially of the people of Oddi."

25. See Ármann Jakobsson (as in note 12), 176–77, and ÍF 31:lix.

26. One of these concessions is to release Hákon from the sort of oath sworn by Magnús Erlingsson at the time of his coronation (ÍF 32:126). Another is to forgo the Norwegian bishops' wish to have a share of taxes (ÍF 32:134).

27. *Íslendinga saga* (*Sturlunga saga*, 1:524–28) provides more information on Gizurr's dealings, but nothing on the king's progress.

28. Ármann Jakobsson (as in note 12), 174.

29. That the bias can also involve the suppression of information is nicely demonstrated by Sverre Bagge's discussion of the marriage between the future King Magnús and the Danish princess Ingilborg in *Cross & Scepter* (2014), 237–38.

30. See Sverre Bagge, *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed*, 93 and 139.

Conclusion

1. Peter Erasmus Müller, *Sagabibliothek med anmærkninger og indledende afhandlinger*, 3 vols. (1817–1820). Finnur Jónsson, *OOLH*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (1923), e.g., 335. See Ármann Jakobsson, "Inventing a Saga Form" (2012), 1–2, on the lack of uniformity in what we refer to as kings' sagas.

2. Kurt Schier, *Sagaliteratur*, 9–33.

3. Bogi Th. Melsteð, "Ferðir, siglingar og samgöngur"; Hallvard Magerøy, *Soga om austmenn*.

4. Ibid., 25–26.

5. See Ármann Jakobsson, *Staður i nýjum heimi*, 94 and 243.

6. On the Icelandic perspective in *Heimskringla* see Gudmund Sandvik, *Hovding og konge i Heimskringla* (1955).

7. Sverre Bagge, *From Gangleader to the Lord's Anointed*, 86.

8. Sverre Bagge, *From Gangleader to the Lord's Anointed* and "'Gang Leader' eller 'The Lord's Anointed' i *Sverris saga*? Svar til Fredrik Ljungqvist og Lars Lönnroth" (2007); Þorleifur Hauksson, "Grýla Karls ábóta" and "Implicit Ideology and the King's Image in *Sverris saga*"; Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, "Kristen kungaideologi i *Sverris saga*" (2006) and "Bannlyst kung av Guds nåde" (2008); Lars Lönnroth, "Sverrir's Dreams" (2006)—reprinted in his *The Academy of Odin* (2011), 163–78.

9. Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (1991), 69. Later in *Nationalism* (2001) he allowed for gradations between "premodern communities" and "modern nations" (p. 108), but he maintained the distinction by emphasizing the ideological and theoretical bent of modern nationalism (p. 118). More attractive to me are Adrian Hastings' arguments (*The Construction of Nationhood* [1997]) focusing on the centrality of language and literature and tracing national sentiment back to the Middle Ages, but that is perhaps because I am a medievalist and a student of literature, not of history. See also the papers by Kåre Lunden ("Was There a Norwegian National Identity in the Middle Ages?" [1995]) and Sverre Bagge ("Nationalism in Norway in the Middle Ages"), as well as Bagge, *Cross & Scepter*, 169–70. Lunden assembles strong indications that national consciousness was well developed

in Norway in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while Bagge is more cautious and prefers the general term "group identification" for the earlier period. He is more inclined to equate national sentiment with the emergence of a strong central monarchy under Hákon Hákonarson. Lunden uses *Fagrskinna* in particular to support his promotion of national consciousness, and my reading of Ari, *Morkinskinna*, and *Heimskringla* may be understood to supplement his view.

10. See his *Theories of Nationalism* (1983), 86–108.

11. See Oddr Snorrason, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, trans. T. M. Andersson, 123–26.